1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

PREFACE

IN the summer of 1943 I had my first experience with Northern Athapaskan Indians at Fort Nelson, British Columbia.[1] At that time it had already been pointed out to me by Professor Cornelius Osgood that certain marked personality features distinguished Athapaskan people which might make it difficult to approach them in interpersonal relations. This observation was corroborated by my own field work. After my return in the fall of 1943, my discussions and reading developed a strong interest in the problem of ethos. At that time the concept denoted little more to me than the notion of the "spirit" of a people. Analysis of the principal works dealing with this and related approaches revealed no clearly formulated methodology for studying the phenomenon, and I became interested in filling this gap. It also seemed that the Northern Athapaskan area would be a suitable place for the study of ethos since in that region communities were small enough to permit extensive participation without too far sacrificing the value of intensive research. Furthermore, the people were manifestly characterized by a distinctive "spirit." It was also hoped that the development of a clearly defined methodology would be useful for studies of national character, which, in connection with the war, were then assuming considerable prominence.

During the summer of 1944 some time was spared from an historical reconstruction of aboriginal Kaska culture to make observations of the emotional behavior of a few informants and to record some of their emotional attitudes. Little was done with this material, although several important emotional trends in the society's behavior were apparent. The experience convinced me that I still lacked the primary requisite for making any satisfactory headway in the study of ethos. I needed a more precise method which would guide the interpretation of data. During the winter of 1944–1945 I was able to work out a method and, through the cooperation of Professor Osgood and the Department of Anthropology at Yale University, test its utility in a study of some aspects of Chinese ethos as reflected in two individuals. The experience convinced me that, with minor changes, the method would serve as an instrument for the exploration of the emotional aspects of motivation and behavior in the field. With this accumulated knowledge, I returned to Lower Post, British Columbia, Canada, on June 9, 1945 to study both the contemporary culture and the ethos of Kaska society. Somewhat over two months were spent in Lower Post, observing and participating in native activities and collecting personality materials. In the middle of August my family and I left the trading post with members of the Upper Liard River tribe, who were returning to their winter settlements. Following two weeks of camping with these people at a point in Yukon Territory where the Alaska Highway crosses the Liard River, twenty-three miles northwest of Lower Post, we began a leisurely trip upriver, stopping briefly at each family's winter settlement. The next three months were spent in one of the largest family settlements. In December, following the freezeup of the river and the arrival of suitable conditions for overland travel, we walked back to Lower Post, again visiting winter settlements, renewing acquaintances, and catching up with local news. Christmas was spent

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

in Lower Post, and on December 26th we boarded the bus for the railhead at Dawson Creek. Analysis of the material was begun toward the end of my stay in the field and completed in New Haven. A description of Kaska culture and ethos, containing a large part of the material in the present monograph, was submitted in 1946 to the Graduate School of Yale University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The preparation of this final report was generously aided by a University Fellowship.

Acknowledgment is made to the Department of Anthropology and to the Peabody Museum of Yale University for funds enabling me to carry out two seasons of field work among the Kaska Indians. To the faculty of the Department of Anthropology I am indebted for unceasing stimulation, criticism, and encouragement. I must particularly mention the intellectual inspiration received from Professor Cornelius Osgood during my graduate years at Yale, and the help provided by Professor Clellan S. Ford in formulating a description of the analytical method which I followed in this study of Kaska culture and ethos. Professors George P. Murdock, Wendell C. Bennett, and Irving Rouse also read portions of the manuscript and made important suggestions. To my colleagues, the students in the department, I wish to express appreciation for their patience and interest in listening to the many expositions of the successive stages of this research project. I am also deeply obliged to my wife who, despite natural misgivings, ventured to try the northern winter and, by her presence and cooperation, greatly facilitated my work. Her interest, aid, and penetrating criticism were particularly valuable during the analysis and description of the data. David and Karen also contributed, their company in the field serving to throw light on many aspects of native child and adult behavior. A number of people, by their friendship and hospitality, promoted our comfort in the North. Among these I must refer to the resident Catholic missionaries, members of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception, Father Pierre A. Poullet, who generously placed his home at our disposal when we returned to Watson Lake Airport in December, and Father Bernard Arsenault. I can also not forget to mention Hans Anderson, Clarence Millspaugh, and Bill Strong, traders; and the trappers, Leo Cormier, Fred Herbert, Knute Hillgren, Nick Prosnick, Llewellyn Phillips, Ben Malanson, and others, who, by their many kindnesses, facilitated and enlivened our stay in Lower Post.

Finally there are my friends among the Upper Liard Indians. Without their generosity in providing us with shelter, guidance, meat, fish, and, when our food stores ran low, lending us "grub," I would not have been able to finish this work adequately. Since I was taken completely into the confidence of some of these people, and because the data contain highly personal and intimate material, it is necessary to preserve the anonymity of the members of this group. Therefore fictitious names have been employed for all my informants.

New Haven, 1946. JOHN J. HONIGMANN

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

refers to an unrelated married woman by the first name of the husband with the prefix "missus." Between two women, the given name is generally employed.

Larger Social Groups

Social organization beyond kinship is of slight functional significance in Kaska society and, even more than the kinship system, is largely of categorical importance. The organization of the Kaska nation into tribes occupying loosely defined geographical districts has already been discussed.[7] There are four tribes known as the Frances Lake, Upper Liard River, Dease River, and Nelson Indians. The degree of emotional identification is relatively slight and would seem to be highest among the Upper Liard Indians. Here, however, relations between intertribal neighbors are, as we shall see, riddled by considerable suppressed antagonism. Although there is a tendency to restrict marriage within tribal units, many marriages have taken place between these units with a consequent diffusion of tribal membership and identification.

No single pattern for determining membership in a specific district or tribe seems to obtain. Old Man reported that a man belongs to the country of his father. He called himself a Liard River Indian, although his father was a Pelly Indian and his mother belonged to the Liard River tribe. In general a person seems to belong to the tribal district or tribe in which he was born and raised, regardless of the tribe from which his parents originally came. This is not final, however. A man who changes his residence with marriage, generally becomes identified with the country in which he takes up residence and begins to trap. For a time, he continues to be referred to as belonging to the district from which he originally came. As his roots grow deeper in the adopted district, he begins to be identified with that tribe. Because of the frequent shifting of residence that occurred up to about thirty years ago, and the frequency of tribal intermarriage which still continues, the districts present a far from perfect correlation with tribal designation. For example, the bulk of families in the Frances Lake district are reported to have originally lived in the Upper Liard River region. Of the four family heads known as Upper Liard River Indians, only one was born in that region and his youth was spent in many parts of the total Kaska area.

Most of the Kaska Indians are divided into two nonlocalized, matrilineal "sides" or moieties, the members of each of which feel vaguely related.[8] Although these sides are identified by the names of two animals, the Crow and Wolf respectively, there is little thought that a person has actually descended from a wolf or crow. Since neither of these two animals is customarily eaten, it is meaningless to talk of totemic food taboos. Both animals are readily killed, however, and the wolf is trapped for its fur as well as for the bounty paid on the pelt. The importance of the moiety is slight. Formal organization is lacking, there being no executives and no mechanisms to bring about the unified functioning of the group as a whole. The principal functions of the moiety lie in the regulation of marri-

[7] See above, pp. 32–35.

[8] Writing in 1908, Allard gives the impression of a number of unilateral kin groups. "The tribe," he says, referring to the Kaska, "is divided into sibs, such as Wolf (tsi yo nih), Crow (niska), Bear (sis), etc." No evidence of more than two exogamous groups could be adduced. By the Bear "sib," Allard is probably referring to the Bear Lake Indians, who trapped up along the Muddy River and traded into McDame Creek and Lower Post. Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1908), 25.

2: Teit E-5 (1912-1915) 1917
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KASKA TALES.[1]

BY JAMES A. TEIT.

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PREFACE.

101 [197] [131] [136] THE following collection of tales or traditions is from the Kaska of the northern interior of British Columbia. The Kaska and Tahltan are closely related tribes of the Nahani division of the Athapascan stock, and occupy territories adjacent to each other. The Tahltan inhabit the whole region of the upper Stikine River, and extend easterly to Dease Lake and River, where they meet the Kaska, who claim the country from there down to the Liard. The Tahltan are thus chiefly on the Pacific drainage slope, and the Kaska altogether on the Arctic slope. Owing to their location, the Tahltan have an abundance of salmon in their country, while the Kaska have none. Both tribes live

114 [1] The present collection of Kaska tales, together with another one of Tahltan tales, was collected by Mr. J. A. Teit in the seasons of 1912 and 1915 in the region of Stikine River, British Columbia. These two seasons of field-work were devoted to a general ethnological investigation of the Tahltan and Kaska Indians, under the auspices of the Geological Survey of Canada. The present publication embraces the mythological results of the trips. Other aspects of the ethnology collected by Mr. Teit will be published by the Geological Survey from time to time in the form of special monographs. To facilitate the appearance of Mr. Teit's Tahltan and Kaska tales, the Geological Survey of Canada has authorized its Division of Anthropology to intrust their publication to the American Folk-Lore Society. — E. SAPIR, Head of Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey of Canada.

3:Honigmann and Honigmann E-5 (1944-1945)1947
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A Kaska Oracle

159 SIR,—The following information may be of interest to your readers: it was obtained in the course of field work with the Kaska undertaken in 1944 and 1945 under grants provided to the senior of us by the Department of Anthropology, Yale University and the Yale Peabody Museum. Contact with the four tribes constituting the Kaska nation was made at Lower Post, B.C., on the Alaska Highway.

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224

Like many other people the Kaska Indians, an Athapaskan-speaking group living in northern British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory, Canada, know a number of

[p. 139]

5: Teit E-5 (1912, 1915) 1956 ND12 Nahane ND12

FIELD NOTES ON THE TAHLTAN AND KASKA INDIANS: 1912-15

by

J. A. Teit

PREFACE

114 [122] The following information on the Tahltan was obtained by me in the fall of 1912 and during the summer of 1915 when I investigated the general ethnology of the tribe and collected information on their traditions, language, songs, etc., for the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada. Incidentally I had gathered a little information whilst hunting big game in their country during a period of several years prior to 1912. Most of this information has been published in the Boas Anniversary volume. A brief report of my work among the Tahltan in 1912 was published in the Summary Report of the Geological Survey of Canada for 1912.

115 The information on the Kaska was obtained during the summer of 1915, when I also collected traditions, songs, etc., from this tribe, and additional information on the Tahltan and other neighboring tribes. Most of the information from the Kaska I obtained at the foot of Dease Lake, my chief informants being Albert Dease and his wife. The Tahltan information was collected for the most part at Telegraph Creek from Dandy Jim, who was specially selected by the tribe to give me the desired information, partly because of his superior knowledge of English and partly because he was considered to be of superior intelligence and one of the best posted persons in the tribe. However, I obtained some information from several other individuals of both sexes of the Tahltan and neighboring tribes, particularly from Big Jackson, Slim Jim, Dennis Hyland, Bear Lake Billy, Ned Teit, etc. I also received information on certain points from George Adsit, who has lived a number of years among the Tahltan and can speak their language. (He has also a knowledge of Cree and at least some knowledge of the Athapaskan dialects spoken by the tribes lying between the Cree and Tahltan, having lived among the Indians in this little-known region for several years.)

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

PREFACE

1/14 MY first direct contact with Athapaskan Indians came in the summer of 1943 with the Slave Indians at Fort Nelson, B. C.[1] The original and unattained objective of that field trip had been the Kaska Indians, whom I then believed to be trading into a post located at the confluence of McDame Creek and Dease River, British Columbia, some 300 miles northwest of Fort Nelson. In June 1944 I succeeded in winning another opportunity to work with the Northern Athapaskans, again setting out for McDame Creek and the Kaska Indians. In Edmonton, district officials of the Hudson's Bay Company informed me that not many Indians were left at McDame Creek. Following the coming of the Alaska Highway, they explained, the McDame trade had been deflected to Lower Post, where the Dease and Liard rivers meet. Here the Dease River Kaska now came to spend the summer with other Kaska Indians who lived on the northern drainage of the Liard. The advice proved encouraging, since it meant that an 80-mile boat trip from Lower Post to McDame Creek could be avoided.

Contrary to the previous year, in 1944 I went North accompanied by my wife and two children: David, age three, and Karen, eight months. On June 15 we started from Dawson Creek, the end of rail, comfortably seated in a very up-to-date Greyhound Bus. The Northwest Division of the United States Army provided this facility for "essential" transportation over the Alaskan Highway. Many changes from the previous summer could be noted during the first lap of the journey. Not only had the Highway been vastly improved, but many of the army and construction camps were closed and some had already been demolished. The "town" of Mile Eight, eight miles above the spur road that leads eastward to Fort Nelson airport, now revealed only a few structures. (When we returned in September the locale appeared to be even more abandoned.) Twenty-three hours sufficed to cover the 620 miles to Lower Post. Early on a glorious summer morning the huge vehicle turned off the Highway and wheeled onto the dirt track leading to the front of the settlement, which then faced the sparkling Liard River.[2]

We spent 13 happy weeks in Lower Post, coming to know a few Kaska Indians so well that we were able to return in 1945 confident of being able to live with them in their winter settlements.[3]

[2] The intention behind my initial visit to the Kaska in 1944 was to acquire gradually an intimate knowledge of their contemporary culture and personality by approaching them with questions about their aboriginal way of life. These data about pre-contact times form the subject matter of the present monograph. In the following year five additional months residence with the people, including part of a winter, helped elucidate many more aboriginal problems. On that field trip, however, contemporary Kaska life constituted the focus of study. The latter material has already been published in *Kaska*

[1] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946).

[177] [2] Recently published material suggests that the town has turned its face toward the Highway, a process which commenced in 1944 when a new Hudson's Bay Company store opened on the Highway and the old store, facing the river, was abandoned. Cf. Harrington, *Alaska Highway* (1951).

[3] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 3-4.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

INTRODUCTION

THE present monograph is intended primarily to describe the aboriginal and time-of-contact lifeways of the Kaska Indians of northern British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory, Canada (Fig. 1). The writer's principal object has been to add to present knowledge concerning the Northern Athapaskan Indians. As far as the organization of the material is concerned, the cultural data follow this introduction, which includes, in addition to these preliminary remarks, a description of the environment (based mainly on contemporary observation), tribal distribution and nomenclature, population data, a sketch of psychological types, and an index of principal informants.[1] The description of aboriginal Kaska culture is divided into five main sections covering, respectively, data pertaining to the food quest, camp life and some associated activities, social organization, ideological system, and the life cycle. These main divisions are in turn further broken down. For many of the dress patterns, implements, and behaviors, alternatives are indicated. It must be kept in mind that evidence does not warrant the assumption that all such alternatives existed simultaneously.

Information has been obtained primarily from the Upper Liard and Dease River Kaska (Fig. 2). When available, data from other Kaska groups follow these two in the following order: Tselona, Espatotena, and Frances Lake Kaska. References to adjacent tribes, like the Tahltan, Pelly River people, Bear Lake Sekani, and Tlingit will be found in footnotes.

ENVIRONMENT

To the person who has not been raised to love the prairie the Cassiar, as the northwestern area of British Columbia and southern Yukon Territory is often called,[2] must appeal as a colorful and exciting region. Lying between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Coast Range to the west the country is bounded north and south by water sheds of considerable height. Geologically the Cassiar may be considered as a portion of the Yukon Plateau.[3] Between the eastern and western ranges the land is rolling and crossed from northwest to southeast by the Cassiar Mountains, which extend from Teslin Lake to the headwaters of the Finlay River (Fig. 2). Below McDame Creek, 80 miles south of Lower Post, the Dease River cuts a gorge through the Cassiar Mountains

[1] The history of the Cassiar and its people will not be presented in this monograph, since it has already been written in some detail. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 38–50; Seidmore, *Sitkine River in 1898* (1899).

[2] For an impressionistic picture of the area see Turton, *Cassiar* (1934). The term Yukon is apparently derived from the Athapaskan word for Northern Lights, yukaga. (Cf. Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* [1940], 439.) Le Jeune, however, derives the territory's name from a supposed "Yuki" (Wicked Ones) Indian tribe. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire Général du Canada* (1931), II, 826.

[3] Lees, *Geology of Teslin-Quiet Lake Area, Yukon* (1936), 5. See also Hanson and McNaughton, *Eagle-McDame Area, Cassiar District, British Columbia* (1936), 3–3; Keele, *Dease Lake Area, Cassiar District, B. C.* (1925). For maps the reader is referred to Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 32, 34.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

172 of the people called Kaska must have crossed Bering Strait enroute from Asia. Leechman, who assumes migration movements toward the headwaters of the Yukon and thence along the Pelly, Liard, and Frances rivers, discovered along the Whitehorse and Snag sections of the Alaska Highway "chipped points, scrapers, large blades, a few other implements and large numbers of chips and flakes. The material employed was for the most part a fine-grained grey chert with a fairly well-marked conchoidal fracture; a certain amount of jasper and obsidian was also used."[17] Such may perhaps have been the primary tools of the early intermontane people, Whitehorse being only 300 miles northwest of Lower Post. Further south along the Highway Frederick Johnson discovered other cultural remains whose age he estimates to be about 7,000–9,000 years.[18] At least it is certain that the remote ancestors of the Kaska lived by food gathering and possessed the general pattern of social organization associated with such a technological base.

Between the time of the earliest arrival of the human stock and the day when the white man began to bring goods to trade for the Indians' furs there were undoubtedly many shifts in the Cassiar population. Evidence exists today that migration brought people from the Fort Nelson River valley into Kaska territory. Once the trader arrived, more extensive shifts of people took place, the movement now being inspired by the desire for favorable fur prices and the trader's goods. Between 1890 and 1900 the peak of such mobility appears to have been reached and it thoroughly scrambled the Cassiar population.

101 At the time when the more easterly Cassiar people first contacted the white man in the Mackenzie basin the group collectively and gratuitously referred to as Kaska (synonymy: Casca) was divided into a number of macrocosmic groups or tribes. These units have been variously named, the confusion being due to the fact that the groups were loosely organized and failed to adopt fixed tribal designations of their own. The nomenclature to be given here reflects ideas in the minds of Indian informants concerning more or less delimited human aggregates. It is not likely that if different informants had been consulted the same designations would have been obtained. As a matter of fact the same informants might have altered their classifications from time to time. Before presenting this scheme, it is proposed to examine earlier writers' subdivisions of the Cassiar people.

114 According to Dawson the Kaska, bounded on the west by the Tahltan, hunted in the country drained by the Dease River "but north of the sources of streams reaching the Dease, they wander seldom" except as far "as Frances Lake."[19] East of the Dease they occupied the drainage of the Turnagain (Black) River "but not to the headwater of that stream, as the country there is claimed by the Al-ta'-tin ('Sicconie') of Bear Lake region. . . ." They also exploited the country northeast as far as Fort Halkett, where

[17] Leechman, *Prehistoric Migration Routes through the Yukon* (1946), 387–388.

[18] Johnson, *Archaeological Survey along the Alaska Highway* (1946). He discovered no sites between Teslin village and Muncho Lake. The latter place is already outside of the Cassiar proper.

[19] Dawson, *Report of an Exploration in the Yukon District, N. W. T., and Adjacent Northern Portion of British Columbia, 1887* (1887–88), 300.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Smith River joins the Liard, and north to the head of the Smith. In this general area Dawson distinguishes two groups, the Sa-se-oo-ti-na and Ti-tsho-ti-na. The first of these he localizes in the "corner" of the Liard and Dease rivers and in the basin of the Turnagain as far south as the country of the Bear Lake Sekani. The Ti-tsho-ti-na, Dawson says, occupied the area east of the Sa-se-oo-ti-na. This latter name designated their easterly neighbors (i.e., the Indians dwelling along the Liard below Fort Halkett), A-tsho-to-ti-na.[20] 114

A few comments are in order. Dawson seems to have erred if he intended to show persistent penetration by the Dease River Kaska (Sa-se-oo-ti-na) of Frances Lake country. His designation, Sa-se-oo-ti-na, confuses the Dease River and Bear Lake Indians and probably relates to the fact that some of the latter were encountered near the juncture of the Liard and Dease. It is not clear to what group the name Ti-tsho-ti-na (Big Water People) refers unless it is a synonym for the tribe that we will later call Tselona.

Hodge in the *Handbook of American Indians* subdivides the Kaska into the Tishotina and Etagottine, both occupying the Liard and Dease River basins. To the east of these are placed the Esbataottine, extending from the Liard south to the Peace. North of the latter is found an extension of the Etagottine. Between the Dease and Turnagain rivers (a position that seems already to have been assigned to the Esbataottine) are placed the Sazentina and around Fort Halkett the Ettcaottine. To the north and west of the Kaska, Hodge introduces the Abbatottine, living in the Pelly, MacMillan, and Stewart river valleys.[21]

Teit, in his discussion of Kaska subdivisions, appears correct on linguistic grounds in objecting that the *Handbook's* Abbatottine and Esbataottine are probably identical.[22] He discards the general term "Kaska" in favor of the highly equivocal word "Nahani," a term that will be discussed presently. He includes as Kaska, or Nahani, not only the Tahltan but also the Sezotena of the Muddy (Kechika), Dease, and McDame rivers as well as the Tittcotena, Na·ani, eiyo·na, Little Salmon Indians, Espätoten, and Tsetsezotena. The Titcotena he locates on the Upper Liard and along the Highland River. To the Na·ani is allocated the upper Pelly basin and they are said to have spoken a dialect akin to Titcotena. The eiyo·na Teit identifies with the MacMillan and Stewart rivers, north of the Pelly. On Little Salmon River, in Yukon Territory, he locates the Little Salmon Indians. East of the Titcotena and along the North and South Nahani rivers,

[20] Probably a cognate of Etca? otena. See below, p. 23.

[21] Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (1907–10), I, 661.

[22] Teit, *Unpub. manuscript* (1915?). Petitot corrected Franklin's designation of Am how law hoot-dennih, saying that these were the Sheep Indians or Es pa-ten ottinè, "People among the Antelopes." (Petitot, *Auteur du grand lac des Esclaves* [1891], 96.) Considerable discussion has been spent in ascertaining whether the radical (e)spa- is to be translated "sheep" or "goat." (Cf. Osgood *Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* [1936], 13; Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* [1946], 24.) Translation of the word as "goat" by several Kaska informants leads to the usage adopted in this monograph. According to Morice, "deceived by appearances, modern Carriers have denominated goat what is really a sheep and sheep what should be called goat." He gives tepé as the Carrier term for "goat" and espai as their word for "sheep." (Morice, *Carrier Language* [1932], I, 34.) See footnote 27.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

114 between the Liard and Mackenzie, dwelt the Espätoten or histoten. Finally, the Tsetsezotena exploited the region north of the Espätoten.

By way of comment, it is obvious that Teit means to group the Bear Lake Sekani with the Kaska or Nahani. He maintains that the former speak a dialect "exactly the same as the Upper Liard and Hyland Indians," a dubious assertion judging from contemporary evidence. Working with the word Nahani Teit got exactly the results that one could now predict would be secured by presenting this term to a number of informants from different parts of the country. The term denotes little known and potentially hostile strangers. It is certainly a cognate of Na'ani, a group which is included in the larger class.

Allard gives the Kaska a territory which in about 1925 extended from Dease Lake "down the Dease to about twenty miles west of the Upper Liard Rivers."[28] Southeast of Dease Lake and Dease River he would extend the Kaska to longitude 126°, or just west of Muncho Lake and considerably east of the Kechika River. South he continues them to the fifty-eighth parallel, that is almost to the headwaters of the Stikine and to Sifton Pass. Northwest they are said to range along the Liard to the height of land but not beyond the Yukon border. The divide, however, which is where the Liard River rises, is clearly north of the British Columbia-Yukon border.

On the basis of available evidence Jenness in 1932 divided the Kaska (whom he extends from McDame Creek eastward to the Beaver River, a little west of Fort Liard) into two groups, the Tsesotena or "Mountain People on the east" and the Titshotina, "Big Water People on the west."[29] The boundary between the Mountain and Big Water peoples is put at the junction of the Kechika and "Dease rivers." This latter statement certainly reflects an oversight since the Kechika flows northwest from Sifton Pass to join the Liard and not the Dease. The confluence of the Kechika and Liard occurs about 70 miles below Lower Post. Jenness probably meant the Liard River. East and northeast of the Mountain people, on the Beaver and South Nahanni rivers, Jenness places the Esbaottine. We would argue that a distinction of the groups on either side of the Kechika River appears valid, regardless of how those groups may be designated. Jenness did not know that the westerly Indians by no means regard themselves as a single, homogeneous unit, the Upper Liard people, for example, distinguishing themselves from the Dease River dwellers. Still further north lie the also distinct Frances Lake Indians.

Osgood extends the classification by Jenness to include as Kaska the Tsesotena Titshotina, and Esbaottine, as well as "the little known people of the Upper Liard River drainage who have frequently been called Nahani."[30] We would add the Frances Lake people, especially if similarity of dialect be regarded as an important criterion of classification.

101 On the basis of long-standing relations, intermarriage, mutual intelligibility, and absence of serious geographical barriers it appears reasonable to group the people living around Frances Lake, the Upper Liard, Dease, and Middle Liard rivers in a single

[28] Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1928), 34.
[29] Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 396.
[30] Osgood, *Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* (1936), 13.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

101 was Wolf. Her name was Tahltanma, a word whose meaning the informant did not know. The Tahltan tribe (or macrocosmic group) in closest proximity to the Kaska was the Nalotena, "People who Live in a Country Where There is Not Much Snow" or North People. These people ranged from about 40 miles north of the present site of Telegraph Creek on the Cheseli River to as far as Teslin Lake.[illegible] To the west the Nalotena met the Tlingit. The latter Indians sometimes brought trade goods up the Cheseli River to the Tahltan fishing village of Nallin, at the confluence of the Nallin ("Waterfall") and Cheseli rivers. Near Nallin was the Tahltan village of Tselɔ in a canyon that the Indians bridged. Other villages were located at hunting and fishing sites on salmon streams and fish lakes like Tstalue, "Flat Rock Fish Lake." In the spring the people fished for rainbow trout in that lake. Another village, Tediititc, "Hand in the Water All the Time for Fish," lay inland from Nallin and was frequented by Indians fishing for grayling with a hand net.

North of the Tahltan and northwest of the Upper Liard Indians dwelt the Taku people, grouped around Teslin Lake and River and occupying the drainage of Nisutlin River. Kaska informants identified the Taku as Tlingit (a feature also noted by Teit[illegible]), indicating perhaps a displacement of the original Taku population by Tlingit immigrants. The people of the Teslin area were also known as Totena. Taku people used to meet the Kaska at a Groundhog Lake near the headwaters of the Rancheria River. Here the Kaska went in autumn to hunt groundhog. Most of the Kaska also knew of the existence of "Salt Water Indians" situated west of the Taku. In recent years visitors from the Cassiar have met Tlingit Indians at Wrangell in Alaska. According to Parnell, a party of Tlingit under a female chieftainess visited Dease Lake Hudson's Bay Post in the winter of 1938–39.[illegible]

North of the Kaska were the inhabitants of the Ross and Pelly River basins, the Akidixtinitu'agotena, "Dwellers Where Two Rivers Join at Right Angles," also called Terahan(l), "Over the Ridge People." The Upper Liard and Frances Lake people occasionally sought salmon at Pelly Banks and there encountered Pelly Indians. The latter also traveled south to what is now called Albert or Cormier Creek, near Watson Lake. They made this journey in order to contact the Tahltan traders who after 1700 became middlemen carrying European trade goods inland from the Tlingit. The Frances Lake Kaska easily understand the dialect of the Pelly River Indians. According to an Upper Liard informant (O) the dialect of the Frances Lake people is closer to that of the Pelly people than it is to the Liard River dwellers.[illegible] According to Jenness, citing a

[114] [illegible] Barbeau has the Tahltan coming to trade at Frances Lake about 1840. This was possible, but his work is completely fictional, and better source material is needed before such a range for the Tahltan becomes accepted even for post-contact times. (Barbeau, *Mountain Cloud* [1948].) One informant (RJ) claimed the Tahltan went to within 20 miles of the confluence of the Frances and Liard rivers.

[illegible] Teit, *Unpublished manuscript* (1915?).

[illegible] Parnell, *Campbell of the Yukon* (1942), 6.

[illegible] Sheldon saw the Pelly people "closely allied to that branch of the Nahanni group designated as Kaska." Perhaps such similarity is late and related to Kaska emigrants in the Pelly basin. Sheldon, *Wilderness of the Upper Yukon* (1919), 190.